


Socialist Standard

Official journal Socialist Party of Gt Britain and World Socialist Party of Ireland

APRIL 1968 | 6d



**“Socialists repudiate
racialism. Away with
race prejudice and unite
for socialism”**

LABOUR'S RACE LAW

**INQUEST ON KEYNES
YOUNG SOCIALISTS
THE BOMB**

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF GT. BRITAIN

The Executive Committee meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4 at 7.30 pm.

Orders for Literature should be sent to the Literature Department at the above address.

Correspondence for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52 Clapham High Street, London SW4 Tel. 01-622 3811.

Letters containing Postal Orders etc. should be sent to A. Wallis, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the "Socialist Standard" should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High St., London, SW4.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The Executive Committee meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 5.30 pm.

REVIEW



FACTS ON RACE

With another Immigrants Act; with the searing report on last year's riots in Newark, New Jersey; with the legal battle over the condemned Africans in Rhodesia; with the preparations in the United States for another long, hot summer; race is once more making the news.

In pubs, bus queues, workshops, offices and homes a variety of theories — if they can be graced with the name — is being propounded. It is time, then, for yet another statement of the facts on race, which all workers should bear in mind.

FACT ONE: Although there is any number of racial theories, and of racialists, nobody has yet been able to fix conclusively the dividing line between races, nor indeed the number of races that exist.

FACT TWO: There is absolutely no evidence, despite exhaustive and persistent attempts to get some, that human beings whose skin is of one colour are superior or inferior to those whose skin is of another colour.

FACT THREE: We live in a capitalist society which is world wide and which divides its people into two classes — capitalists and workers.

FACT FOUR: These two classes are also world wide and cut across any other divisions of race, sex or religion. Thus there are "coloured" capitalists as well as "coloured" workers, "white" workers as well as "white" capitalists.

FACT FIVE: The interests of workers are opposed to those of the capitalists.

FACT SIX: All capitalists have a common interest and so have all workers. The workers' is in unity — as long as capitalism lasts to improve their conditions and, more important, to organise for the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by Socialism.

FACT SEVEN: Racial theories and prejudices, because they are false and because they operate against working

class unity, are a barrier to the understanding of Socialism. They are, therefore, against the interests of the workers and should be rejected by them.

FACT EIGHT: Only when we have Socialism will all human beings be able to cooperate freely for the benefit of society. Only Socialism will end the pernicious scourge of racism.

WAGES STILL FROZEN

One of the more famous examples of Harold Wilson's cynicism is his saying that in politics a week is a long time.

Clearly, it is this principle that has guided the government's policy on wages. Each time the stop has been put on rises it has been on the understanding that it was only a temporary restraint. Every turn of the screw has been justified on the argument that it was necessary for a time — six months, a year — to ensure greater prosperity to come.

Every restriction on the unions has been represented as a preliminary to greater freedom in the future. On the principle that a week is a long time — that the promises made last week will be forgotten by this — the government has broken every promise on wages.

If their original assurances were worth anything, we should by now be free of the freeze. In fact, restraint is still on; last month's meeting of trade union executives spent most of their time discussing the pointless issue of whether they would co-operate voluntarily or compulsorily with holding down wages.

The Prices and Incomes Act still hangs over the unions and if the busmen, for example, carry through their campaign for a rise, we may see some prosecutions under the

Act. Under Jenkins, as under Callaghan, the clamp down continues. So, too, does the policy of letting prices rise, and of inflating the currency so that the whole operation can tick over.

What this all means is a depression of working class living standards. It means that our wages, held down, will buy less and that the necessities of life will be that much harder to come by — and the luxuries that much fewer and further between.

This is what the government's economic policies have been aiming at, behind the smokescreen of promises, all on the cynical premise that voters' memories last no longer than a week. Well, do they? That, of course, is a matter for the workers themselves.

HOW BIG A VILLAIN?

Even before David Frost got at him, Emil Savundra was high on the list of public villains. Savundra was skating on very thin ice. The motor car, with all it implies about the economic status of its owner, is an object of almost neurotic pride among the working class. Anything which threatens to upset this little dream world—inadequate roads, higher road tax, unstable insurance companies—is likely to call forth wrath appropriate to frustrated pride.

How big a villain was Savundra? He is, apparently, a man of compelling personality and some ingenuity; when he was sentenced there was the usual regret that he had not turned his talents to some business within the law. That, of course, would have been perfectly alright; capitalism's legal robbery has founded many fortunes and there are many men with honours thick upon them as a reward for running the system.

Indeed, insurance is a part of capitalism's big swindle — as anyone can find out if they fail to read and understand the small print on a policy, or try to cancel a policy before it is fully paid up and expect to get back something like what they have paid in premiums. Savundra broke capitalism's rules and his mistake was to do so in a way and on a scale which was almost certain to be discovered.

Of course the collapse of Fire Auto and Marine damaged a lot of workers, many of them, as the judge said, "from a modest income group" who could afford only the sort of cut price premiums offered by FAM.

But capitalism is damaging workers all the time. By taking from them the full product of their labour, and giving back only a portion, the system robs and swindles millions of people. Beside that, and beside capitalism's record of repression, Savundra is very, very small fry.

It needs no legal and financial expert to expose capitalism's crime against humanity. The indictment of the system was prepared a long time ago but so far there has not been enough interest in bringing a prosecution.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GT. BRITAIN

OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GT. BRITAIN holds:

- 1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GT. BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action, determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.



Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Labour's New Race Law

Attacks on wages and the trade unions, defence of profits and unemployment, bringing back health charges and now, again, a colour bar law. Thus, one by one, Labour abandons its old principles, partly under pressure from capitalism, but partly also from a desire to stay in office. While economics has been responsible for the failure of Labour's futile attempts to make capitalism work in the interests of all, politics is behind this, their second, capitulation to colour prejudice. For, as they themselves pointed out in 1962, if anything economics demands free immigration: there is a relative labour shortage in Britain which could delay expansion.

This shortage has existed since the beginning of the last world war. First the demand for workers was met by the immigration of persons displaced by the war in Europe and then by people from the old empire and the colonies, from the West Indies, from India and Pakistan, from Cyprus and from West Africa. Figures show that this migration was mainly a matter of supply and demand: when the economy was expanding more came; when the economy was stagnating the rate of entry slowed up and many returned home (and many British-born workers left for Canada and Australia). In the meantime demagogues, such as former Fascist leader Mosley, exploited the frictions that arose between workers thrown together in the terrible housing conditions capitalism created in parts of the expanding Midlands and South East. Mosley stood in the 1959 election as a "send-them-back" candidate in North Kensington, where the previous year there had been the Notting Hill race riot.

In 1961 the Tory government decided to act. They introduced a Bill whose purpose was to keep out "coloured" immigrants. The Labour Party, then led by Hugh Gaitskell, opposed this measure in and out of Parliament. One of their leaflets headed *Immigration, the Facts* began:

By restraining the right of Commonwealth citizens to come to Britain, the Conservative Government has given way to the pressure of colour prejudice. The Labour Party is determined to oppose any form of colour prejudice.

The leaflet went on to point out:

The fear of some people that millions of immigrants will come to these shores is quite unfounded, for as the number of unfilled jobs falls, so the number of immigrants falls. And we need more workers if our economy is ever to expand.

and ended: **LABOUR SAYS FIGHT RACIAL PREJUDICE!!!**

Gaitskell died, six months after the Commonwealth Immigrants Act came into force, in January 1963. Gradually, with the prospect of power after thirteen long years in the wilderness, Labour's enthusiasm for fighting racial prejudice weakened. The results of the 1964 election, in which Labour scraped home by a mere four seats, confirmed their fears that opposition to immigration control was a vote-loser. Racialist Peter Griffiths, despite a national swing against the Tories, had defeated Patrick Gordon Walker in Smethwick, a traditional Labour seat in the outskirts of Birmingham. Deprived of power for so long Labour was determined not to lose it by sticking to a mere principle. The policy

of "fight racial prejudice", they decided, should be replaced by one of "pander to racial prejudice". Accordingly, in August 1965 Labour announced that it would strengthen the colour bar Commonwealth Immigrants Act. Their Home Secretary Soskice, himself the son of a Russian immigrant, went about talking vaguely of "illegal" immigrants thereby encouraging prejudice.

Compared with the present Labour leaders Gaitskell almost seems a man of principle. Indeed, Roy Hattersley, now a junior Minister, has criticised Gaitskell's stand against the Tory immigration Act. In a series of essays called *The Left* published in 1966, Hattersley made this cynical statement referring to Labour's about turn on this issue:

In some fields rationalism has taken over where even under Gaitskell emotion reigned.

So even Gaitskell was not pragmatic — or opportunist — enough!

It is true that in 1965 Labour did bring in an Act outlawing racial discrimination in certain public places. But any effect this might have had was nullified by the government's capitulation over the immigration colour bar. If the government can discriminate, many argued, why can't pubs and hotels too? The Act also contained a dangerous innovation: section six made the mere expression of racialist views a crime, and thus represented an attack on freedom of speech and the press in Britain. The Socialist Party, although opposed to racialist views, stands for full and free discussion of all social problems and is quite opposed to any and all restrictions on such discussion. The Labour government, however, in an effort to get the best of both worlds, has pursued the stupid and dangerous policy of trying to suppress the very views it has encouraged by pandering to — besides of course maintaining capitalism, the system that gives rise to working class problems and to racialism as a mistaken reaction to them.

When the Tory Conference met in Brighton last year Sir Cyril Osborne, wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* (18 October):

Grand Old Dukes of York

Before:

"For the first time, racism is to be written into British law. British citizens are to be excluded because their skins are dark, or their grandfathers foreign . . . In the past we have voted and worked for the Labour Party. This is the turning point. We cannot see ourselves voting for a party that goes through with this policy". — letter to The Times 27 February signed, among others, by Richard Titmuss and Peter Townsend.

After:

"Some of your readers might like to know that we have no intention of quitting either the Labour Party or the Labour movement. In reacting to the Government's Bill on the Kenya Asians, we wanted to say that this was a turning point in our attitudes to some of the policies of the present Government. Without changes in policy our allegiance will be in question. But as always we would do what we can to influence discussion about social policy within the Labour movement". —letter to Tribune 8 March signed by Richard Titmuss and Peter Townsend.

Some African States are driving out their Asian immigrants. They number over half a million. They are entitled to settle in Britain. Today they are clamouring to come, and the British Overseas Airways Corporation is offering cheap air fares.

He went on to allege that the surplus population of India also wanted to come here and commented:

We cannot assimilate them. They have their own language, religion, literature and culture, which they mean to preserve. They remain an alien race in our midst.

This is the kind of prejudice the Labour government has given into and, who knows, perhaps shares. Osborne of course is no great intellect. He is only popular amongst certain Tory activists since, as a narrow-minded provincial company director, he typifies them and their prejudices. But at least it has always been clear where he stood. Long ago he declared himself against a "coffee-coloured, multi-racial society" in Britain. Osborne, however, was not alone in stoking up racial prejudice among the Tories. The same day in a speech in Deal shadow defence spokesman Enoch Powell called for stricter immigration controls to keep out "coloured" people and particularly for new legislation to stop any Asians coming in from Kenya. Over the years Powell has been building up his image as a man of principle, as a frank and fearless defender of capitalism without controls. He has risked unpopularity by insisting that the law of supply and demand be allowed to work unhindered. Now he stands exposed as a hypocrite. He is all for controls to stop the free movement from country to country of workers seeking jobs. For Powell, as an MP for colour conscious Wolverhampton, himself runs the risk of becoming a victim of the law of supply and demand: if he came out in favour of the free movement of labour he might not be re-elected! Another former Tory minister, Duncan Sandys, has also been running his own one-man racist campaign. Despite the fact that he was a member of the Tory government which, in granting Kenya independence, gave the Kenya Asians the right to come here. Sandys joined with Powell in demanding action to "keep-them-out".

This campaign put the Labour government, already unpopular enough for its attacks on living standards, in an awkward position. Should it run the risk of again being blamed for "letting-them-in", or should it try to outmanoeuvre the Tories? By now, after more than three years of governing capitalism, Labour was used to breaking promises and abandoning principles so the choice was easy. On February 22 Home Secretary Callaghan announced Labour's Bill to stop the Kenya Asians. These unfortunate people were holders of British passports so the Bill had to provide for the extension of the immigration colour bar from Commonwealth to British citizens. Sandys was delighted:

The Government have now themselves introduced a Bill similar to mine and I am giving them my full support . . . (Spectator, 1 March 1968)

Extending the colour bar to British citizens abroad needed careful drafting to avoid keeping out "white" as well as "coloured" people. In the end Labour found a solution that only those whose father or father's father were born in Britain would from now on have free entry into Britain. One lawyer, writing in *New Society* (29 February) commented:

Each lawyer will recognise the finger print of the formula that has been evolved: it is designed to draw a racial dis-

unction by finding a dividing line which *approximates* to the racial division yet is capable of expression in words which make no specific reference to race.

The Socialist Party, basing its principles on the fact that workers the world over have a common interest, is opposed to all racialism and to all nationalism. We are opposed to all legislation to prevent the free movement of workers, whether in search of jobs or fleeing from oppression. We denounce the Labour Party's new race law as a shameful sell-out to colour prejudice. Let them never dare speak of the brotherhood of man again!

A.L.B.

Prejudice and Pride

Her Majestie understanding that there are of late divers blackmoores brought into this realme, of which kinde of people there are already too mannie, consideringe howe God hath blessed this land with great increase of people of our owne nation . . . those kinde of people should be sent forth of the lande . . .

(ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL 1596)

Apart from the government's feeble, obligatory excuses, both supporters and opponents of the Commonwealth Immigrants Act are agreed that it is a measure designed to discriminate against people on grounds of colour.

The Act was rushed through in deference to a widespread feeling that it was needed, which is what Callaghan meant when he spoke in the debate on the Bill:

Pledges had been given to people which, if carried out, could cause great political turbulence and place Britain's services under a far greater strain. (Daily Telegraph, 28/2/68.)

Labour politicians have learned their lesson; the name of Smethwick is graven on their hearts and it will be a long time before they again risk going against the popular conviction that immigration should be restricted, if not stopped altogether, and that coloured immigrants are especially undesirable.

This last prejudice, which was behind the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, is a complex matter which has been the subject of much investigation. We do not need to be a probing sociologist to know what it amounts to — the opinion that coloured people are sexually dangerous, emotionally unstable, mentally retarded, lazy. Some think that a coloured skin must be dirty, like the chauffeur who was surprised to find Negroes working in the kitchens at London Airport. ". . . because they are usually so careful about hygiene here." Others do not bother to think out their prejudices even to that extent; to them, a coloured skin is *strange* and that is enough to condemn it.

We must be careful not to exaggerate the size of this feeling. In his book *White And Coloured* Michael Banton sums up one aspect of his investigations:

It would appear that the proportion of the British population who consciously subscribe to doctrines of racial superiority is certainly less than 4 per cent, while the proportion who are prepared to translate such opinions into active hostility is very much smaller still.

Banton's carefully qualified statement is probably correct; but behind that 4 per cent lies a much larger proportion

of people who have prejudices which are perhaps less conscious but which, when they are tested by an influx of coloured workers, can be provoked into activity. This is what has happened in recent years. Banton found 62 per cent assenting to the proposition that "It would be a good thing if people of different races mixed with one another more". But that was in 1956; if 62 per cent of the electorate were now in favour of racial integration there would probably have been no such thing as a Commonwealth Immigrants Act.

A lot of the objections to immigrants are based on the fears that they will swamp the hospitals and social services. In its most extreme, but by no means rare, version, this pictures the Negroes and the Asians coming here with an enormous family and heading straight for the nearest office of the National Assistance Board, then settling down in slumland, performing the miracle of running a big flashy car and several women on unemployment pay.

To some extent this was answered in the *Sunday Times* of March 3, in an article which pointed out that, with the exception of Education and Child Care, the average cost per head of the immigrants to the social services is below that for the total population. This is because the immigrants tend to be younger than average, which also means that their national insurance payments are higher than the average.

We should realise that facts like these only put some prejudices into perspective. What, it may be asked, happens when the immigrants get older? Does the case against them become stronger because they are more of a burden on the social services? In fact, the whole issue is irrelevant. People who object because there are some — even many — coloured faces in an already overcrowded, understaffed hospital are overlooking the fact that it is only one social class which always has to rely on such hospitals and that the best medical services are reserved, not for coloured workers but for the economic masters of workers of all colours.

By the same token immigrants are forced to move into areas which are in a state of slow decay and accelerate the process. A large, depressed migrant population, fleeing from destitution or oppression, is usually forced into this (have a look at Cecil Woodham Smith's story of the Irish emigration westwards in *The Great Hunger*). But the solution is not to keep the immigrants out, so that at best the decay advances only slowly. The root of the problem is in the fact that we live in a social system which frankly admits that it cannot stop producing slums.

To illustrate the point, here are a couple of extracts from *A Question Of Colour?*, a book by Peter Griffiths, the man who won the notorious election at Smethwick. These are supposed to be justifications for the objections to immigrants but in fact they show up the negative attitudes behind the objections:

People who have perhaps been evicted from one overcrowded dwelling after another are bound to feel bitter when they hear of houses being occupied by several families or used on the shift system.

And

Housewives, waging a never-ending battle against industrial dust and grime in an attempt to turn mean little houses into real homes, are highly critical of any lowering of standards.

Working class fear about lack of housing, hospital accommodation and so on, is only the sauce on the pudding.

pamphlet 1s6d

Socialists emphatically repudiate racism. No one group of people is innately superior to another. From the earliest times mankind have been continually intermingling to the benefit of the whole human race. The interest of all workers throughout the world is the same — the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by socialism. Away with the barriers of nationality and the prejudice of race, and unite for socialism.



THE PROBLEM OF RACE

Without it, there is still an indigestible lump of what can only be called prejudice, or sometimes simple insularity. In Southall, for example, the elderly Sikhs regularly gather in the park — whenever they can in the open — and converse in a large circle. Sometimes younger men join them. It is all perfectly harmless, all very sociable — the kind of thing that does not normally happen in an industrialised city and is all the more poignant for it. But many local white people think it is a cheek, to take up so much of the park and others that it is a strange and sinister thing to do.

In the same way, there is a reluctance to accept, or even to evaluate, any different sexual standards which immigrants may have. The West Indians regard marriage with rather less reverence than do the British — which has the effect of making their families almost matriarchal and their old men sometimes almost discards. This attitude has nothing to do with any inherent Negro characteristics, as many white workers think. It is no more than a product of the immigrants' history. In *West Indian Children In London* (Occasional Papers on Social Administration) Katrin Fitzherbert outlines the results which slavery had on the family in the West Indies:

Family life was barely possible under slavery; the marriage customs of a particular tribe could not survive when slaves from different parts of Africa were put into the same compound; English-type marriage was forbidden for most of the period of slavery — on some plantations to the very end. For two centuries the institution we consider most fundamental to human society was forgotten.

A British worker has to make some sort of an effort, if he is to realise that the family organisation he has been conditioned to accept as eternal and invulnerable does not hold good for all time and all over the world, and that

different social circumstances will often result in different sexual conventions. At the moment he prefers not to make the effort; it is easier to reject facts and surrender to prejudice, sexual fears, the jungle standards of competition on the labour market. It is easier to try to keep out anything foreign, with different customs and culture.

A lot of the reason for these insular prejudices can be found in the fact that many workers, after perhaps decades of hard work, have painstakingly sunk their roots into mortgaged houses and have embellished them with hire-purchased durables (which is not *our* word for them) like cars, television sets, refrigerators. They have revealed remarkable talents in decorating their rooms and laying out their gardens. They are proud of what they have done.

In these little homes, within the confines of their families, many workers feel they have built themselves a fortress. They will defend it against all comers — and at the moment the enemy they see coming is the coloured immigrant. They are fighting him now with their votes. Who cares to say how they will fight in the future?

The tragedy is that those little homes are not fortresses so much as prisons. Capitalism is a massive confidence trick which convinces workers that their chains are ornaments, that their poverty is prosperity, that cheap, cramped houses are objects of pride — because they have had to be worked for. Coloured workers are equally deceived—the limits of their ambitions is to get a clean passport into the working class with all its poverty, fears and suspicions, probably to set up their own prejudices and insularity.

Capitalism is strikingly adept at erecting barriers among its people. It divides them into nations, income groups, races — all of them inspired by false notions of economic and social interests. It is a desperately inadequate society, in which for millions of people the highest achievements is to close themselves up into the confines of a little home and a little job and a little family. These confines are self-productive; they encourage the neuroses and prejudices which fear a different skin colour, and which insist that I shall keep in my small corner while you must keep in yours.

IVAN

“Young Socialists” in Conference

When the trotskyst “Young Socialists” gather in Morecambe for their annual conference this month they will be voting on a proposal from their national committee that they should put forward their own parliamentary candidates in future elections. This would be a clear break from their previous stand of critical support for the Labour party and it is worth taking a look at these new contenders for the workers’ votes.

The “Young Socialists” were originally organised by the Labour party as its youth section in 1960, to replace the defunct Labour League of Youth. As always, tension rapidly built up between the idealist young people who formed its rank and file and the Labour party bureaucracy which wanted to keep them firmly in hand. The spineless policies of the Labour leaders grated on the “Young Socialists” and they were also incensed by the arbitrary control of their organisation by Transport House. This, then, was a classical situation for the trotskysts to move in on and the “Socialist” Labour League played the same role as the “Communist” party had done in the previous takeover in the thirties. The break from the Labour party came in 1964 when a wave of expulsions ended in a complete split in the movement. Those who left retained the name “Young Socialists” and formed a nominally independent organisation, while the rump which remained in the Labour party now operates under the clumsy title of “Labour Party Young Socialists”.

If the plans of the national committee ever get off the ground and the “Young Socialists” do run candidates for political office, they will present themselves to the working class on a platform of *transitional demands*. These can be anything from “Victory to the Vietcong” to the call for “Nationalisation of the basic industries, banks and insurance”. They are intended as a minimum programme (socialism being relegated to some indefinite, doomsday status) but are supposed to have a long-term effect as well. As the original Transitional Programme of the Fourth International put it:

the Fourth International advances a system of *transitional demands*, the essence of which is contained in the fact that ever more openly and decisively they will be directed against the very bases of the bourgeois regime.

Obviously this process of progressively phased revolution has not advanced very far since the Transitional Programme was first adopted in 1938, as the demands at present being touted clearly show. Just what benefits the victory of the Vietnamese ruling class over the American capitalists would bring for workers anywhere remains obscure, to say the least, while nationalisation of industry — even if total, as in Russia — merely enables the ruling class to tighten its grip on the means of production. If all the supposedly revolutionary, transitional demands of the “Young Socialists” were enforced, the working class would remain in exactly the same position as it started out — propertyless and exploited. The slogans of the “Young Socialists” are a far cry from Marx’s — and the Socialists Party’s — revolutionary demand of *abolition of the wages system*.

The need for the so-called transitional demands arises in the theoretical framework of the “Young Socialists” parent body (the “Socialist” Labour League) because they take it as axiomatic that the working class cannot possibly grasp the case for socialism if it is presented to them in simple, uncompromising terms — without some form of bait. In fact, the pivot of all their arguments is the conviction that the workers can never arrive at an understanding of socialism by their own efforts and that they must therefore be controlled from above by a leadership. The only useful purpose the working class serves is that it provides the mass basis which the trotskysts hope to make use of in their attempt to gain political power.

This line of thinking is in direct conflict with Marxism. While Marxists have always argued that the socialist revolution must be the result of a united effort by the workers of the world, the followers of Lenin and Trotsky maintain that action by a determined minority, with passive or blindly

following masses at the back of them, is all that is necessary. In the case of the Russian Bolsheviks there was perhaps some justification for this attitude, operating as they were in a backward, peasant country. But, however sincere their intentions to build socialism might have been, the historical obstacles were insurmountable and they found themselves leading a bourgeois revolution which conformed in all essentials to the characteristics which, as Engels pointed out, typify the rise to power of capital. They were the "small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses" who lead every revolution which merely replaces one ruling class by another.

A socialist revolution is something entirely different, however.

If the conditions have changed in the case of war between nations, this is no less true in the case of the class struggle. The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organisation, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for with body and soul. The history of the last fifty years has taught us that. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long persistent work is required, and it is just this work which we are now pursuing, and with a success which drives the enemy to despair.

(Engels' introduction to Marx's *Class Struggles in France*)

It is this "long persistent work" which socialists take on in their efforts to convince other workers like themselves of the urgent need for establishing a socialist society based on the principle of "to each according to his needs, from each according to his ability". Trotskyists, on the other hand, shirk this job. Falling back on idealism or, to use their own language, "petty bourgeois impressionism", they try to sidestep the task of spreading socialist ideas among the working class as a whole and retain the archaic notion that only a conscious minority is needed. Thus, in the "Socialist" Labour League's pamphlet — *The death agony of capitalism and the tasks of the 4th International*:

The turn is now to the proletariat, i.e., chiefly to its revolutionary vanguard. The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership (our emphasis).

This is nothing but the view which Engels was attacking as already outdated in 1895. It belongs to a different era; to the era of capitalist revolutions.

We might add that there are, of course, no prizes for guessing who the "revolutionary leaders" will be. With customary modesty, Gerry Healy et al. announce themselves as God's latest gift to the working class.

Apart from the leadership issue, once the slogans and pamphlets of the "Socialist" Labour League are stripped of their mock-revolutionary verbiage, what remains is a thoroughly reactionary programme. Socialists maintain that a class-conscious working class has the ability right now to build a society of abundance, based on free access to wealth — what Marx called the "higher phase of communist society" in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. Any need for possible preliminary stages is a thing of the past. What Marx saw as necessary in 1875 — an initial period during which the productive forces would be rapidly increased — is obviously an outdated concept, when we consider the gigantic strides that have been made in all branches of industry in the last hundred years. Like other socialists, Marx's sug-

gestions were based on an over-optimistic prediction of the imminent overthrow of capitalism in the closing years of the nineteenth century. The "Socialists" Labour League, however, is still committed to maintaining the wages system in the second half of the twentieth century and its members talk in terms of "generations" before it could possibly be done away with. Supporters of the trotskyists in the trade unions should bear this in mind when they back organisations like the SLL — and it wouldn't do them any harm either to remember just what happened to the unions in Russia when the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, gained power. It would be interesting to learn how many of the trade unionists and "young socialists" who look to the SLL for political guidance would be prepared to submit to Lenin's maxim "of unquestioningly obeying the will of the Soviet leader, of the dictator, during the work."

Another completely reactionary role which the "Socialist" Labour League has taken on itself is that of calling on the workers to vote Labour in past elections. Their national secretary, Healy, advances a sophisticated argument to justify this:

During the general elections of October 1964 and March 1966 we urged trade unionists to vote Labour and at the same time fight within the labour movement for a socialist policy to be adopted by the government.

The Socialist Labour League advocated this policy knowing that the vast majority would vote Labour as part of their experiences.

It was our responsibility to go through this experience with the working class. Likewise it is our responsibility today to outline ways and means to fight Wilson within the labour movement, not to desert this fight through abstention at the polls.

Hence we call on the 'left' MPs to fight him in the Parliamentary Labour Party at the forthcoming conference at Scarborough in order to take the working class through the experience of political struggle in relation to the Labour Party.

Our job is to expose these 'left' MPs, just as Wilson is being exposed, and at the same time demonstrate to the working class the need for alternative revolutionary leadership within the labour movement.

The weak points in this would be obvious to any thoughtful worker. If, as Healy admits, the workers were going to vote Labour anyway what was the point of the SLL adding to the confusion! Wouldn't it have been far better to have taken a stand on socialist principles, as the Socialist Party did, and to have called on the working class to oppose capitalism and all the capitalist parties (including the Labour and "Communist" parties)? Despite Healy's grandiose plans to "take the workers through the experience of political struggle in relation to the Labour party", objectively all he has achieved is to help to keep the workers on the Labour-Tory pendulum. Many of those who voted in a Labour government at the last general election will, on present evidence, be voting in a Conservative administration at the next. One sign of hope, to be sure, is the sizeable proportion who seem to have abstained in recent by-elections and, if their present mood of disillusionment and apathy could be replaced by socialist understanding, this indeed would be a breakthrough. But, if for a moment we go along with Healy's rather paranoid dreams and assume that they were ready to support the "Socialist" Labour League, where would it get them? Healy's message is simple:

We say that the labour movement has had enough from such traitors, on the left and the right — a new, alternative leadership has to be built.

Far better for the working class to realise that all leaders, whatever their pretensions, are the political enemies of the workers. There is no substitute for socialist working men and women. What is needed above all are self-reliant workers equipped with a thorough understanding of Socialism, not abject followers cringing and praying that this time they will not be betrayed and compromised.

In any case, the Socialist Party of Gt. Britain does not subscribe to the narrow interpretation of "experience" which is common to all varieties of trotskyst theory. We do not think that the only way to learn is by burning one's fingers. Applying this to the young workers in the "Young Socialists", we say — why wait until bitter experience forces you to see through "Socialists" Labour League? Why not examine its programme from the standpoint of Marxian Socialism now? Why not come over to the side of the revolution?

J.C.

The Bomb

The Second World War was nearing its end when in August 1945 atom bombs were exploded over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, thus adding further horrors to the crimes of capitalism at war. Like other wars it had supposedly been fought for noble ideals. Rivalries leading to war did not disappear of course and this weapon has taken its place along with more destructive variations in the armouries of the world. Strategy and international diplomacy have been revamped to take them into account.

Much of the development of scientific theory leading up to the atom bomb was done in the period between the two world wars, by scientists from many lands. Classical physicists had held that matter and energy were totally distinct and could neither be created nor destroyed. Then Einstein evolved the theory that one could be destroyed and converted into the other. This was summarised in his equation $E=mc^2$, where E is energy, m is mass, c is the velocity of light. Hence the energy released by the destruction of small quantities of matter is very large. Nuclear weapons are practical demonstration of the truth of this proposition. As long as scientific investigation into the nature of matter and the atom showed no prospect of profitable applications, capitalists and their governments were miserly in giving their support. The atom was first split in 1919 and work progressed, until by the late 1930's it became evident to scientists that applications were possible. Once war was declared they were concerned about their findings being put to military use. In America these experts, some of whom had fled from Nazi tyranny, petitioned the President, demanding a weapons research programme, in order to get a bomb produced before Germany did.

Once convinced, the US government invested lavishly in the equipment and installations required. The problems of turning theoretical propositions into military hardware were enormous. It took the co-operation of the British, Canadian and US governments, an international team of scientists and the expenditure of \$2,000 million. By 1942 calculations



showed that less than 100 lbs. of uranium 235 or plutonium 239 could be used as explosive material to release energy equivalent to 20,000 tons of T.N.T. Only a minute quantity of either material had been produced at the time. Techniques and equipment for producing them had to be developed. Research was carried out at various universities and the Oak Ridge and Hanford plants were set up to produce fissile material. Work on the weapons started in 1943 at Los Alamos. The project was run as a military operation with maximum security. It was organised in such a way that only a few people knew of the whole scheme, the majority working on individual problems not knowing what their particular items related to.

By the time the first bombs were ready, Germany had been defeated. The menace the scientists had feared was gone. However this did not prevent the US government using the bombs. One of the features of capitalism is the tendency to internationalise production, and this goes for armaments too. No security system, however elaborate it may be, can stop the spread or development of ideas and techniques of production. By 1949 the United States lost its monopoly of the weapon, when Russia exploded its first atom bomb. In the years that followed other nations mastered the techniques. To-date Britain, France and China have become nuclear powers.

In the meantime research teams in America and Russia were kept busy on another project. For some time it had been known that energy was continually being released from the sun by the fusion of hydrogen atoms. This was far greater than the forces liberated by fission of uranium atoms. Work proceeded to try to reproduce this process

on earth. The problem involved was that intense heat was needed in order to fuse atoms and the atoms of the lightest element, hydrogen, were best suited to this purpose. The solution was to generate the heat by setting off a fission explosion which would produce the fusion reaction. The United States tested the first bombs of this type in May 1951 and November 1952, followed by Russia in August 1953. This new weapon has had various names — Super, Hydrogen, Thermo-Nuclear. A test in 1954 in which the force of the explosion was estimated to be between 12-14 million tons of T.N.T. showed the danger from radioactive fallout in these experiments. The crew of the Japanese fishing vessel *The Lucky Dragon* suffered radiation sickness, and one of them died of it, as a result of fallout 90 miles from the test. Testing continued and the largest explosion to-date is estimated at 57 million tons of T.N.T. Again it was impossible to prevent the spread of this weapon. In 1957 Britain exploded an H bomb, China did the same last year and France is getting ready for its own test.

It is as well to note the feelings of one of the scientists, involved as expressed by Teller (known in the USA as the father of the H bomb). "Those were days", as Teller later recalled, "filled with a spirit of spontaneous expression, adventure and surprise" — a natural reaction for men engaged in studies in which new knowledge was coming to light. At the same time it is an indictment of present society, that their efforts were efforts directed to producing greater means of destruction. For the few who backed down, jobs were hard to come by. Those who protested did so in vain. They, like their fellow workers in other occupations, are caught in a situation over which they have no control. Another arms race was under way. There were new evils to eradicate and the scientists were led to believe their contributions were of vital interest to them. Like the overwhelming majority of workers their knowledge of the workings of capitalism is minute and they easily succumb to its propaganda.

Two factors have to be kept in mind when considering the possibility of more countries making nuclear weapons. First they must be able to produce the weapon in a compact enough form to be delivered and secondly they must be able to produce or acquire a means of delivering it to the target. Early work in America was concentrated on developing the bomb. But as time went by more effort was directed to producing aircraft, rockets and electronic equipment needed for both defence and attack. States entering the race since then have been faced with the same task and so will any others joining the club.

For nuclear weapons the first requirements are stocks of fissile material and the necessary technology to produce and handle them. One way of achieving this is through setting up nuclear power stations, fuelled by uranium 238, which have the fissile material plutonium 239 as a by-product. A number of countries operate this type of equipment and are in a position to develop fissile weapons if needed. Two of them, India and Israel, have recently been involved in wars and there has been speculation about their intentions. Such countries as Germany, Japan, Italy, Canada and even neutral Sweden and Switzerland must be considered as potential producers of nuclear weapons. Even so tremendous costs are involved. Many countries are now dependent on America and Russia for financial and technical aid and must keep this in mind. Both France and China have been isolated from their former allies since they became nuclear powers.



At an "Anti-Bomb" March

Before the H-bomb production can take place an A-bomb trigger device must be developed. Moreover this device has so far been fuelled by uranium 235. It is a difficult and expensive process to separate it from uranium 238. It is acknowledged that China has mastered the problem, but France has not been so successful. According to the *Sunday Times* of 18 June last year "The French are believed to have spent over £300m on their [gaseous diffusion plant] at Pierrelatte and it is still not fully operational". To add to the expense large supplies of electricity are required. It is estimated that America devoted 10 per cent of its generating capacity to this purpose in the second world war. Since these early days, however, an alternative process of separating U235 from U238, centrifugally, has been investigated without success. Recent reports indicate that researchers in Holland have now made a workable centrifuge. This could lead to a cheapening of the operation of up to 90 per cent.

The development of nuclear weapons, long-range aircraft, rockets and electronics has led to radical changes in military thinking. The scientist, equipped with computers, has largely taken over from the old-fashioned military tactician. The world is now the battlefield with potential civilian casualties numbered in tens of millions. Control of the upper atmosphere and space are now as important as control of land and sea routes were in the past.

The situation since the second world war has seen the two super powers, America and Russia, battling for the supremacy of capitalism. The arms race between them has been on a scale that has left the once great powers, Britain and France, far behind. Missiles equipped with nuclear warheads can now be launched from aircraft, the ground, ships and submarines. Artillery, mortar and land mines can now produce nuclear explosions. As the power, variety and num-

ber of weapons increase so does the possibility of defending populations and industry decrease. More emphasis is placed on advanced preparation, protecting missiles and command posts so as to enable the combatants to continue the battle amidst the debris. Massive spying operations are required to keep war ministries informed of the enemy's equipment and allow them to plan strategy. America, for instance, made wild estimates of Russia's aircraft strength in the 1950's as was shown up by the U2 spy flights. The U2 has been succeeded by satellites equipped with cameras able to photograph large areas in great detail and transmit information to ground stations. This has already allowed Russia and America to locate China's nuclear plants. With electronics playing an increasingly important part in weapon guidance and early warning radar, so the search for information to jam these systems grows. The USN *Pueblo* was equipped for this type of work and it is claimed that Russia's notorious trawler fleet is similarly equipped.

Both Russia and America have built up a series of alliances in pursuit of their interests. The most important of them are the Warsaw Pact and NATO, whose essential feature is that the two powers should provide the nuclear weapons. These groupings have proved troublesome as each of the states involved has had its own interests to pursue. Britain and France, with world-wide commitments, have attempted to equip themselves for a world-wide strategic role. France's *force de frappe* at the moment cannot reach a target such as Moscow or Washington without its aircraft re-fuelling on route. But these will later be supplemented by missiles and rocket-firing submarines. Britain has suffered many expensive failures in trying to play this world-wide role. It still depends on its obsolescent Victor and Vulcan bombers. Shortly its Polaris submarines will be going into service with missiles capable of hitting any target on earth. While Russia has been more successful in preventing east European states developing nuclear weapons it failed in the case of its former ally, China.

Strategy has been based on being able to deliver a knock-out blow while at the same time defending against one. Though manned aircraft and submarines are still maintained, missiles form the greater part of the strategic forces. America has depended on having more inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBM), but Russia has been catching up recently and also has a superiority in intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBM). These missiles are kept in under-

ground concrete emplacements, called silos, said to be to protect the missiles for further use. In America they are under the control of the Strategic Air Command (SAC) which has an underground HQ in Nebraska. There are also three aircraft, one of which is constantly in flight, fitted as command posts in case the SAC HQ is put out of action. Similarly there is a special aircraft and a special ship fitted out for the President. The SAC also controls a large number of bombers, some of which are kept on air-borne alert. A vital part of all this is the early-warning radar system, including ground-stations, ships and aircraft. Communication satellites and computers are also part of the equipment. Defence equipment includes fighter aircraft fitted with rockets and ground-to-air missiles, some of which have nuclear warheads. Russia has similar equipment but not on as lavish a scale. It also claims to be capable of putting bombs into orbit around the earth and of later bringing them down on target. It is developing an anti-ballistic missile (ABM) defence system. America has recently decided to invest in similar equipment. These moves have given a new emphasis to the arms race and may be the means of renewed atmospheric nuclear testing by both states.

Some of the strategy is worked out by organisations such as the Rand Corporation in America. Here over a thousand scientists of all types are kept by the US Air Force to work out possible developments in nuclear warfare. Their calculations include how to retaliate after attacks by opponents and how to maintain or revive production in the course of such a war. They juggle with figures of potential deaths running into tens of millions. One thing they do not get round to of course is an analysis of what the conflict is all about and how it can be ended. What the conflict is not over is ideas of how society should be run. Both Russia and America had sufficient in common to be allies in the last world war. Their production is based on the profit motive and it is from this that the conflict between them springs. Success in the competition springing from this mode of production demands the control of exploitable manpower, markets, raw materials and trade routes. In this struggle famine relief, technical and financial aid, military and commercial alliances, all play a part. It will only be brought to an end when the workers who produce the wealth over which the conflict rages take control of the means of production and replace capitalism with Socialism.

JEF

FIFTY YEARS AGO

The Passing of Individualism

Imperialism, especially under the impulse of its exacting offspring, the war, has revolutionised the capitalist mind. The old "individualism" is dead as a working philosophy. Whilst in the "Liberal" period, the capitalist class largely achieved its prosperity through each capitalist seeking independently his own welfare without much regard for, or heed of, the support of his class, now that competition between its national sections has become intense, *class solidarity* within the nation has become imperative. The great expense of militarism and the need for efficiency demand concessions and sacrifices from the individual members of the bourgeoisie.

Organisation for war having become an

economic necessity, military service is now considered an imperative obligation. The military spirit is glorified, military traditions are revived. The State is no longer regarded, as in the individualist period, a necessary nuisance, useful to keep the workers down (maintaining "order" as it is called) but otherwise the less in evidence the better. Now, on the contrary it has become the "saviour of society" (i.e. of the bourgeoisie). Only by its powerful aid can the needs of the capitalist class be satisfied. The State, in addition to securing military efficiency, now organises and provides over the industries of the Nation, striving to co-ordinate National production, eliminate waste, and otherwise promote the

efficiency required for the intense competition in the world market.

From an article by R. W. Housley
SOCIALIST STANDARD April 1918

CORRECTIONS

May we correct a number of mistakes in the March SOCIALIST STANDARD. In "The Wobblies" on page 45: third line of second column should have read "a little necktie party"; last line of second verse of Joe Hill's song should have read "You'll get pie in the sky when you die". In the book review "Marx's Daughter", on page 49, Edward Aveling was described wrongly as a "Socialist" lecturer instead of a "secularist" lecturer.

ASPECT



Inquest on Keynes

In *'Keynes and After'* (Penguin Books, 5s.) Michael Stewart, until recently senior economic adviser to the Wilson Government, (not to be confused with the Minister of the same name) has given us a very readable outline of Keynes' theories and of their relation to those of the earlier economists, followed by an attempt to prove that Keynes revolutionised economics by providing the governments of industrialised countries with the means to control the economy and provide full employment. According to Stewart most economists accept and most governments now apply Keynes' theories and if unemployment sometimes rises above a low level this is by the deliberate action of governments — they could have full employment but choose not to have it.

Those who have found it difficult to follow Keynes' own statement of his views — and Stewart admits the difficulty — will find in Chapter 4 a lucid exposition. The same cannot be said of his scrappy and in some respect, inaccurate summary of Marx's views.

The starting point of Stewart's book is an examination of the belief held by Ricardo, Say and other economists at the beginning of the nineteenth century that capitalism in its normal operation tends to produce full employment. any failure of a particular industry to sell its products being quickly offset by larger sales in other industries.

This rested on the proposition "every seller brings a buyer to market": meaning that the seller of an article then has the money to buy some other article and will do so.

In spite of evidence to the contrary this belief that unemployment could only be temporary and limited persisted right up to the nineteen thirties, when, according to Stewart. Keynes astonished the world by showing that the seller who comes into possession of money does not necessarily use it at that time to make a purchase.

Stewart is quite correct about the reception given to Keynes' rebuttal of the Say doctrine. What he does not explain is why that part of Keynes' work was treated by economists as an original discovery for Marx had examined in detail the way in which capitalism produces unemployment and had proved Say to be in error.

Stewart is at least partly aware of this for he expressly excludes Marx from the nineteenth century economists who were taken in, yet he also writes that it was "left to Keynes . . . to put his finger on the truth."

Not that Marx's conclusions were the same as those reached by Keynes. For Marx it was a matter of showing how capitalism operates and how it needs unemployment. for Keynes it meant prescribing a remedy. He believed that by appropriate action, including government expenditure to create demand, full employment could be maintained.

Keynes presented his doctrines in 1936, in a book called *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*. Stewart maintains that the money and interest can be disregarded. "For the book is really about what determines the level of employment". It is true that in his book Keynes said that we had not yet gone into the practical problems of a full employment society but that certainly did not mean that he attached little importance to the aspects that Stewart dismisses. It is, however, not necessary to prove the

point because in the Government White Paper *Employment Policy* 1944, which Keynes helped to draft, the practical problems were considered and they went far beyond full employment; to include specifically the maintenance of a stable price level and a faster expansion of production.

One can guess why Stewart would prefer his version, for while he claims that the full employment aim has been achieved he has to admit that the others have not.

The first question is whether in fact, full employment can be and has been maintained by the use of Keynes' methods. Stewart is confident that it has (except when governments did not want full employment). Other Keynesians are not so sure.

Professor Alvin Hanson, in his *A Guide to Keynes* (1953) writing about the low unemployment in the early post-war years said, "Full employment was, however, primarily the result of the war and post-war developments, not of conscious policy".

And John Grieve Smith reviewing Stewart's book in *The Times* of 22 January had this to say:

Michael Stewart attributes the maintenance of high levels of employment . . . after the second world war mainly to the wide-spread acceptance of Keynes' ideas. This is over-generous. Since 1945 there has been an inherent tendency towards full employment as powerful as the tendency towards heavy unemployment in the Twenties and Thirties. Initially this appears to have been an aftermath of the destruction of war, latterly, perhaps a result of the tendency towards higher public expenditure whether for military or civil purpose.

It should be noted too that there is a fairly clear trend towards an increase of the level of unemployment in Britain in the Sixties, as compared with the early post-war years, and Stewart himself is disturbed by the quite sizeable unemployment that has persisted in America in spite of government declarations and policies.

Stewart claims that the first government to adopt Keynes was Roosevelt's administration in 1933. He then has to explain why, eight years later unemployment was still ten per cent representing over eight million unemployed. His explanation is that although Roosevelt was running a budget deficit of 4½ Billion dollars a year (nearly £1,000m.) to finance government expenditure on public works, it was not enough. he should have spent more.

It will be seen that Stewart has an answer for every situation. If the Keynes technique is not seen to cure unemployment this must be due, either to the government not wanting full employment, or to the medicine not being strong enough. It will however be recalled that on a particular occasion, Enoch Powell was able to show that although the recovery from a bout of fairly heavy unemployment did follow a Tory Government statement of its intention to dispense financial medicine, the recovery took place without the medicine having been taken.

Having to admit that the other two aims have not been achieved Stewart in effect throws Keynes overboard. He writes that Keynes did not live long enough "to get to grips with the problem of achieving faster growth and more stable prices", and that "the management of effective demand along

Keynesian lines, though a necessary condition for solving both problems, is not a sufficient solution of either of them."

It was not only faster growth they thought they could organise, but continuous growth. In fact in the past twenty years what they got was the stop-go, the alternate expansion and contraction, much the same as it was before Keynes was born and when Marx described it in *Capital*.

Stewart has his own explanation for the rise of prices. It is that with near-full employment workers and employers are both in a monopoly position and have taken advantage of it to push up wages and profits and that this has caused prices to soar. It raises an interesting question. As prices in Britain have increased by 250 per cent since 1938, compared with about 125 per cent in the USA and Switzerland, are we to believe that British workers and capitalists are twice as demanding as the Americans and the Swiss?

As Keynes does not help him Stewart is forced to fall back on an incomes policy — 'a policy that would prevent wages, profits and other incomes from being pushed up faster than production' (Stewart, would no doubt, be surprised to learn that Marx, a hundred years ago, described how wages in a boom rise faster than the production of consumer goods).

This dependence on an incomes policy, and the consequences that will flow from it bring us back to a basic difference between the analysis of capitalism made by Marx and that made by Keynes and Stewart. Marx saw that capitalism is not just an accidental assembly of economic activities but a class system, with the means of production

and distribution owned by one class and the other class, the workers, forced, in order to get a living, to sell their mental and physical energies for wage or salary.

In the inevitable class struggle the government is compelled, if it is to keep capitalism functioning, to come into conflict with the workers.

Keynes thought that if he could find means to reduce unemployment generally to a very low level he could take the edge off the conflict. Yet at the end of the road we find the Labour Party Keynesians trying to impose a wage freeze policy on the workers.

The Government may try for a time to enforce it with increasing rigour, or may withdraw in face of opposition, or unemployment may rise to the point at which no incomes policy is necessary, but whichever way it goes they will be reminded of the class nature of capitalism — one of the facts of life they pretended no longer existed.

There is still another difference between Marx and Keynes. It was claimed for Keynes in the thirties that he saved capitalism; that was certainly his declared intention. Marx of course sought to replace capitalism by Socialism (not, as Stewart thinks, by state capitalism on the model of Russia). The Keynesians, including the leaders of the Labour Party, are still trying to save capitalism. If any member of the Labour Party doubts this he should take note of the fact that Stewart in his book does not even consider the possibility that there is an alternative — Socialism.

H.

POLITICS FIRST

Industrial Democracy in Gt. Britain.
ed. by K. Coates and A. Topham. Mac-
gibbon and Kee, 63s.

It is insolent of those who idealise industrial action to link this, as Coates and Topham do, with Marx. For Marx held that, necessary and useful as industrial action was, what it could achieve was limited; to end wage slavery the working class should take political action to convert the means of production from class to social property. The industrial side of the class struggle is thus in a sense subsidiary. This book is a collection of writings advocating a greater say in industrial administration for workers on the shop-floor and, frankly, is uninteresting. The authors' comments are mealy mouthed and in places inaccurate. We are told that James Connolly "split the old Social Democratic Federation to form a new Socialist Labour Party". This move was in fact an expression of the dissatisfaction of the younger SDF members; it is quite wrong to attribute the founding of the SLP to Connolly. Another sign was the founding in 1904 of the Socialist Party of Gt. Britain — not mentioned, of course.

Workers have no special power "at the

point of production". The real seat of power is what controls the government machine and capitalist power rests on their control of this. Industrial action won't dislodge them. It is significant that Coates and Topham can find nothing to quote on the shop stewards' movement from 1926 to 1935, a period of great unemployment. All the pre-war items on this issue are from members of the so-called Communist Party — Tom Bell, J. T. Murphy, Tom Mann, W. Gallacher, Wal Hannington and Harry Pollit — thus endorsing the view that at one time the CP was a revolutionary organisation which went off the rails "when it embraced parliamentary action after the war. But the CP has always been an opportunistic party, its only principle being to act in accordance with the interests of Russian state capitalism. Thus they called a meeting of shop stewards in April 1940 to protest against the employers using the war as an excuse to attack working conditions. At another meeting in October 1941 the same people were reported as cheering a man who declared "If a man doesn't pull his weight in war production then, whether he is a labourer or engineer, he should be put in the army". We all know what had happened in be-

tween! From 1941 to 1947 the CP supported production drives and this only changed when the wartime alliance broke up. One of the pre-war Communists quoted is J. T. Murphy. Murphy was expelled from the CP in 1932 because he would not accept the slogan "stop the transport of munitions"; he wanted "credits for the Soviet Union!" Murphy's following had been built up among engineering workers in eastern Sheffield, an important munition producing area. This incident well shows that the shop steward's following is based on industrial issues. They don't carry their supporters with them when they branch out into politics.

Coates and Topham recognise that democratic control of industry will not work if production is still to be geared to the market (look at the co-ops, they say). They know that for this to be effective the market and money must go. Only they fall for the old stepping stone policy:

Given the establishment of a democratically self-regulating industry in a climate formed and dominated by the market, a struggle will begin between democracy and the market.

Once some people thought that national-



isation was a step to Socialism. All they achieved was to bring certain industries under the collective control of the capitalist class via the state. All this talk about "worker's control" and industrial democracy will probably have a similar outcome: employers will latch on to it as a stepping stone to involving their workers in production problems—with a view to increasing profits.

A.L.B.

DIVIDED THEY FELL?

History of the International 1914-1943
by Julius Braunthal. Nelson 126s.

"On issue after issue", wrote Jack Cohen in reviewing this book in the *Morning Star* on 18 January, "essential facts and background information and analysis are completely omitted". He instanced the policy of the German Communist Party up to 1933 (denouncing the Social Democrats as "social fascists", while helping the fascists to undermine democracy), the Spanish Civil War (murdering thousands of anarchists and trotskysts), the German Soviet Pact (agreeing with Hitler to carve up Poland) and the attitude of the British Communist Party to the war (supporting it for a few days, then opposing it till June 1941, then supporting it again). Of course the so-called Communists do not want people looking at their record of opportunism in the service of Russian state capitalism.

The Communist International was set up in 1919 and to it affiliated those who mistakenly thought that as capitalism was collapsing and that the working class should therefore stage an immediate armed rising. Braunthal says, and this is fair enough, that it was by its Fourth World Congress in 1922 that the Comintern had become a tool of the new rulers of Russia. Its rival was styled the Labour and Socialist International whose members, throughout this period, pursued a more consistent, if futile.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Industrial Relations

by G. Daly, Mercer Press, Cork, 63s.

The Japanese Miracle Men

by Ralph Hewins, Secker and Warburg, 70s.

The Impact of the Russian Revolution in Britain, by R. Page Arnot

Lawrence and Wishart

Li Ta-chao and the origins of Chinese Marxism, OUP, 40s.

by Maurice Meisner

MAY SOCIALIST STANDARD

See the May issue for special articles on: The Socialist Party and the Second International Scottish and Welsh Nationalism

policy. They saw their role as not to prepare the workers to take power for Socialism, but to protect the workers within capitalism by supporting reforms and parliamentary democracy. Consistency, to put it mildly, was not something that the Comintern could claim for its policies. At one time they called for armed risings, at another for a "national front" to include all save pro-German fascists.

Braunthal argues that the European Labour movement was so weakened by the split, started by Lenin and perpetuated by the Comintern, that it was unable effectively to resist fascism. But would a united front of self-styled workers' and democratic parties have stopped fascism? This begs the question by assuming that the Communists were democrats, whereas up till 1935 they were denouncing democracy as useless. Only in the period 1935-9 did they pretend to support democracy and even then, when they shared power in Spain they used it to suppress, torture and murder working class opponents. Why, too, should they be regarded as part of the reformist workers' movement? Surely they had more in common with the fascists—their contempt for democracy and advocacy of dictatorship, their worship of leaders, their special attacks on financiers, their opportunism and demagoguery? How could such people be reliable allies in the defence of democracy and working class interests? As the French Social Democrat, Lucien Laurat, put it: the real social fascists were the Communists.

Braunthal, himself a Social Democrat, is using the Communists as scapegoats for the failure of the Social Democrats' "lesser evil" policy for resisting fascism: Hindenburg and Dollfuss were not as bad as Hitler and so on. This policy only encouraged fascism. For fascism flourished on discontent and discontent flourishes under capitalism, even in a democratic state. So in rejecting uncompromising struggle against capitalism for a mere struggle to defend democracy (important as democracy is), the Social Democrats were preserving the conditions that cause mass dissatisfaction with democracy. In preserving capitalism, especially since the governments they joined or kept in office failed miserably (as they had to) to make capitalism work for the mass of the people, they too contributed to the growth of fascism.

Braunthal often goes too far in trying to blame the Communists for the suppression of democracy. This is a pity as it means that the wealth of information in his book can not be relied on. He says, for instance, that the Bolsheviks first tried to seize power in July 1917, whereas in fact they were then trying to restrain workers from launching an uprising they thought premature. He claims the 1924 Labour government "fell victim to an episode in the Communist propaganda campaign". But the Campbell case was only the occasion, and by no means the cause, for the fall. In any event, the Bri-

tish Communist Party gave its unconditional support to all Labour candidates in both the 1923 and 1924 elections. Braunthal makes no mention of this as he argues that up to 1935 the Communists were consistently opposed to Social Democratic parties (save for a brief period in 1922). We who consistently opposed both Social Democrats and Communists know better. But for Braunthal to admit that from 1923 to 1927 the Communists backed the Social Democrats would weaken his basic thesis.

Jack Cohen called this book a white-wash operation. We must agree. Nevertheless it is still worth reading if only to get the Social Democratic view of this period in working class history.

A.L.B.

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DARTFORD 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm, April 5 at 7 Cyril Road; Bexleyheath and April 19 at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9. Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

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HARINGEY Fridays 8 pm (Discussion after business), Wood Green Civic Centre, N22. (2 mins. Wood Green Tube). Correspondence: Secretary, 3 Drapers Road, Enfield.

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MID HERTS Regular meetings every Monday 8 pm in the Hatfield, Stevenage and Welwyn Garden City areas. Correspondence: J. A. Mattingly, 27 Woodstock Road, Broxbourne, Herts.

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SOUTH WEST LONDON Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: Secretary at this address.

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Mondays: Lincoln's Inn Fields 1-2 pm
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CAMDEN GROUP

The Enterprise, Chalk Farm Road.
 (opposite The Round House and
 Chalk Farm Tube Station—
 Buses 24, 31, 45, 68, 187, 239)

Monday 8th April
Education or Brainwashing
 Speaker: H. Young

Monday 22nd April
Food, Health and Profit
 Speaker: H. Hamme

GLASGOW

Sundays at the Woodside Public Hall
at 7.30 pm

7th April
RACE AND IMMIGRATION

14th April
STUDENTS IN REVOLT

21st April
LET DOWN BY LABOUR

28th April
THE POPE, THE PILL
AND POVERTY

HACKNEY

Trades Hall, Valette Street. E8
Wednesdays. 8.30 pm

April 24th
Juvenile Crime
 Speaker: J. Law

HARINGEY

Civic Centre. Wood Green. 8 pm
Fridays.

April 19th
Did Marx Worship the State
 Speaker: A. Pandya

WEST LONDON

Westcott Lodge, The Mall. Hammersmith
Fridays 8 pm

HULL

Weekly discussion group meetings on
Sundays at 8 pm at the Blue Bell.
 Lowgate. Hull.

WESTMINSTER

Royal Oak, York Street, W1
 (near Marylebone Station)
Wednesdays 9 pm

April 24th
Men and Machines
 Speaker: J. Carter

FRIDAY 12th APRIL 7.30 pm

Annual Conference Public Meeting

EALING

The Three Pigeons, High Street
Monday 8th April 8 pm
Marxism and Democracy
 Speaker: A. Buick

Monday 22nd April 8 pm
Indians in Britain
 Speaker: Robert Ramesh
 (Indian Workers Association)

GREENFORD BRANCH present

"The War Game"

Peter Watkins film of a nuclear
 attack on Britain. Followed by
 discussion.

The Questors Theatre, Mattock Lane,
 Ealing (near Ealing Town Hall)

THURSDAY 16th MAY 8 pm

Further details from
 R. Cain [Tel. 574-8584];
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MANCHESTER

Every Thursday at 8 pm
 Waggon and Horses (corner Bridge St. and
 Southgate. Deansgate)

4th April
The War in Vietnam
 Speaker: W. Atkinson

11th April
Aspects of Opportunism: I.S.
 Speaker: L. Hopkin

18th April
Aspects of Socialism
 Speaker: J. Crump

25th April
Crime and Society
 Speaker: A. Hopwood

2nd May
The New Industrial State?
 Speaker: Carl Nelson

9th May
Sex and Society
 Speaker: M. Atkinson

ANNUAL CONFERENCE 1968

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,
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sessions

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Saturday 2 pm - 6 pm

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22nd April
The Marginal Theory of Value
 Speaker: K. Knight

29th April
Writers' Class

20th May
Money, Banking and Crises

LETCHEWORTH

County Library, Broadway
Thursday April 4th, 8 pm
Labour's Future
 Speaker: T. Giles

WELWYN GARDEN CITY

Campus Library
Monday April 8th, 8 pm
Conference Agenda

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